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Infinitival Complements with the Verb (*ge*)*dōn* in Old English: Latin Influence Revisited

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Introduction

The emergence of the accusative-and-infinitive constructions (ACI) with causative (*ge*)*dōn*¹ ‘to do, make’ — such as *þu dydest minne broðer his god forlætan* discussed below — and *to*-verb-phrase (VP) constructions with (*ge*)*dōn* — *He dide ðone king to understanden* — has been described in secondary literature as both ‘ultimately due to Latin influence’² and as a native Old English development.³ The former claim is based on the evidence from the Old English translations, in which (*ge*)*don* with infinitival complement is used to render Latin ACI constructions with causative *facere* ‘to make’;⁴ while the latter relates the rise of this construction to variation and change in the argument structure of (*ge*)*don*, which can be employed as a three-place verb ‘to give, grant’ taking NP-*to*-VP complements, and as a two-place verb ‘to make’ taking ACI and *that*-clause complements.⁵

My aim in this article is by no means to produce a final judgement on this debate but to show that both claims about the origin of the (*ge*)*don* with infinitival complement describe

¹ I use the spelling (*ge*)*don* to refer collectively to both the prefixed verb *gedon* and the simplex *don*.

² Morgan Callaway, Jr., *The Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution, 1913), p. 205; cf. Alvar Ellegård, *The Auxiliary ‘Do’: The Establishment and Regulation of its Use in English*, Gothenburg Studies in English, 2 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1953), p. 54; Manfred Scheler, ‘Altenglische Lehnsyntax: Die syntaktischen Latinismen im Altenglischen’, Ph.D. dissertation (Berlin: Freie Universität, 1961), p. 99.

³ e.g. James Finch Royster, ‘Old English Causative Verbs’, *Studies in Philology*, 19 (1922), 328–56 (p. 345); Olga Fischer, ‘The Origin and Spread of the Accusative and Infinitive Construction in English’, *Folia Linguistica Historica*, 8.1–2 (1989), 143–217 (pp. 187–9); Bettelou Los, *The Rise of ‘To’-Infinitive* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 134–36.

⁴ Causative *facere* with ACI complements is attested already in Classical Latin, but becomes widespread only in Late and Medieval Latin, with variation being still possible between ACI, *ut*-, and *quod*-complements. See Alfred Ernout and François Thomas, *Syntax latine* (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1953), pp. 296–303 (p. 329); R. A. Browne, *British Latin Selections, A.D. 500–1400* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1954), pp. xxvii–xxviii; Veikko Väänänen, *Introduction au latin vulgaire* (Paris: Éditions Klincksieck, 1981), pp. 139–40; Michele Fruyt, ‘Grammaticalisation and Latin’, in *Historical Linguistics 2003: Selected Papers from the 16th International Conference on Historical Linguistics, Copenhagen, 11–15 August 2003*, ed. by Michael Fortescue, Eva Skafte Jensen, Jens Erik Mogensen and Lene Schøsler (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2005), pp. 131–39 (pp. 131–32). The Latin part of my research corpus represents the two later varieties of Latin.

⁵ Los, *The Rise of ‘To’-Infinitive*, p. 136.

the situation only partially. In the long diachrony, these claims can actually complement each other. In other words, while the Latin-based hypothesis better describes early and classical Old English, the native-based one applies more to late Old English and the transitional period. Moreover, I suggest that although the calques of the Latin *facere*-ACI are indicative of Latin influence in this domain of syntax, transformations of these structures in Old English translations are equally meaningful and can signal important incompatibilities between the two language systems. I also show that in many cases a close philological analysis of the wider context of a particular text reveals intricate syntactic dependencies between what are considered original Old English compositions and their Latin sources. It seems, therefore, necessary to distinguish an intermediate category of texts that are not translations proper, in that they do not go back to one particular source text, nor are they original Old English texts because they exhibit affinities to one or more Latin sources. Before I proceed to the contrastive analysis of my Latin and Old English data, I will briefly describe my research corpus.

The research corpus, its scope and timeframe

The corpus that I used for this study consists of two contrasted samples: a) Sample 1 — written Old English as independent from Latin as possible, based on a selection from the *York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose (YCOE)*⁶ and representing five text types: laws, charters, correspondence, chronicle narrative, and homily/life narrative (274,757 words); and b) Sample 2 — written Old English closely dependent on the Latin originals, based on editions of two gloss texts, five translations, and Latin originals of these texts, representing four text types: hymns, religious regulations, homily/life narrative, and biblical narrative (180,622 words).⁷

Working with Sample 2, I made syntagmatic comparisons between the Latin originals and Old English translations of edited texts, and documented all the possible renderings of *facere*-ACI constructions into Old English. For Sample 1, I retrieved data (e.g., *(ge)don* with infinitival or *that*-clause complements) by using CorpusSearch programme, and checked them still against the searches in the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus (DOEC)*, to make sure that I got all the relevant instances of *(ge)don* within my *YCOE* selection. I use normalised orthography in examples from the *YCOE* and occasionally extend them if some important context is needed. Analysing data from Sample 1, I also consulted the online database of the *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici*, which enabled me to trace some of the infinitive constructions in the original Old English texts back to their Latin prototypes.

⁶ *The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose (YCOE)*, compiled by Ann Taylor, Anthony Warner, Susan Pintzuk and Frank Beths (University of York, 2003), <<http://www-users.york.ac.uk/~lang22/YcoeHome1.htm>> [accessed 18 February 2011].

⁷ The size of the samples may look small to corpus linguists, but it should be kept in mind that surviving Old English accounts only for some 3,000,000 words, a major part of this consisting of glosses, translations and manuscript variants of essentially the same texts (*The Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus (DOEC)*, ed. by Antonette diPaolo Healey and others (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2009), <<http://tapor.library.utoronto.ca/doecorpus>> [accessed 18 February 2011]), so that a balanced and representative contrastive corpus is really difficult to compile. Historical linguists working with this material basically have to make the best of the available data, which, as I am going to show below, is very restricted both socially and linguistically. A detailed description of the corpus and criteria used for the selection of texts can be found in Olga Timofeeva, *Non-finite Constructions in Old English, with Special Reference to Syntactic Borrowing from Latin*, *Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique de Helsinki*, 80 (Helsinki: Société Néophilologique, 2010), pp. 3–8.

Since the early 1990s, the accepted periodisation of Old English has been the fourfold distinction represented in Table 1.⁸ In this study, however, the amount of my data did not allow me to retain this division, especially in the two early sub-periods, so I had to lump OE1 and OE2, and OE3 and OE4 together; I refer to this twofold periodisation as early Old English (eOE) and late Old English (IOE), respectively.

OE1	–850
OE2	850–950
OE3	950–1050
OE4	1050–1150

Table 1. Periodisation of Old English in the *Helsinki Corpus*

Analysis

1. Old English causative verbs

In Old English basic syntactic causatives are formed of the negative causative *letan* ‘to let, allow’ and positive causative *hātan* ‘to order, command’ plus infinitive. I will give a brief overview of these two verbs before I proceed to the analysis of (*ge*)*don*.

With causative *letan* two syntactic patterns prevail: *letan* + bare infinitive of transitive verbs with implicit causees (*letan*-Inf, 55 per cent of infinitival constructions with *letan* in my data) and *letan* + bare infinitive of intransitive verbs with explicit accusative causees (*letan*-ACI, 45 per cent), cf. (a) and (b) below:

- (.1) (a) [*se cyng...*] *let niman of hire eall þæt heo ahte*
the king let-PAST take-INF of her all that she owned
[the king...] made-take/took from her all that she owned (ChronE 1048.82; late Old English)
- (b) *7 a hi leton heora feonda wærod wexan*
and ever they let-PAST their enemies’ army-ACC grow-INF
and they would let their enemy’s army grow (ChronE 999.11; late Old English)

The constructions with implicit causees seem fairly co-lexicalised⁹ and the majority of the tokens (c. 77 per cent of *letan*-Inf constructions in my data) follows the word order in which the infinitive directly follows the main verb.¹⁰ In these, *letan* appears to be used primarily as

⁸ *Early English in the Computer Age: Explorations through the Helsinki Corpus*, ed. by Matti Rissanen, Merja Kytö, and Minna Palander-Collin, Topics in English Linguistics, 11 (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1993); Merja Kytö, *Manual to the Diachronic Part of the ‘Helsinki Corpus of English Texts’: Coding Conventions and Lists of Source Texts*, 3rd edn (Helsinki: University of Helsinki, 1996).

⁹ Co-lexicalisation occurs when the main verb and complement verb form one unit and share one set of grammatical relations. See, e.g., Michael Noonan, ‘Complementation’, in *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*, vol. 2: *Complex Constructions*, ed. by Timothy Shopen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 42–140 (p. 75).

¹⁰ Timofeeva, *Non-finite Constructions in Old English*, pp. 95–101; cf. Noonan, ‘Complementation’, pp. 73–6; Talmy

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the marker of implicative causation, as in (1a). Typically, causees in such sentences are either unimportant or, more rarely, retrievable from previous context.¹¹ Since many Old English texts are historical narratives (varying from chronicles to hagiographies), with more or less standard sets of events, their sequences and end points, *laetan*-Inf construction seems to an extent to be genre-specific. When Anglo-Saxon kings in these texts make their commands, the main thing is that they are fulfilled, regardless of who carries them out.¹²

With *laetan*-ACI constructions, the word order *laetan*-NP_{Acc}-Inf prevails (60 per cent of *laetan*-ACI constructions in my data); while yet another portion of material (28 per cent) consists of collocations, such as *laetan-faran/gangan* ‘to let-go, release’, which, again, could be seen as co-lexicalised items, with *laetan* marking both causation and transitivity.¹³

Laetan never takes *to*-infinitive complements,¹⁴ but it can take finite clausal complements. Their frequency, however, is quite low, with all tokens coming from late Old English. Moreover, these typically demonstrate a shift in the semantics of *laetan* from causation to cognition, along the lines ‘let > allow > admit > consider’.¹⁵

Although co-lexicalised structures with *laetan* are attested already in eOE, frequency-wise *hatan* appears to be the default verb of causation — in the *YCOE*, it is about nine times more frequent than *laetan*, let alone other verbs of causation.¹⁶ *Hatan* takes bare-infinitive complements with implicit causees (*hatan*-Inf, 78 per cent of my data on *hatan*), bare-infinitive complements with explicit accusative causees (*hatan*-ACI, 14 per cent), and finite subjunctive and indicative complements (*hatan*-that, 9 per cent), cf. the examples in 2(a–c) below.

- (.2) (a) *ond he het wyrcan gyldeno godgeld ond seolfrene*
 and he order-PAST make-INF gold idols and silver
 and he made [people] make gold and silver idols (Mart 5 [Kotzor] Jy19, A.5;
 early Old English)
- (b) *7 Se cyng het þone arcebisceop Wulfstan þærto*
 and the king order-PAST the-ACC archbishop Wulfstan thereto
boc settan
 charter set-INF
 and the king ordered-to/made archbishop Wulfstan prepare a charter to this end
 (Ch 1460 [Rob 83] 8.126; late Old English)
- (c) *forðanþe Crist het, þæt mann æte þæt*
 for Christ command-PAST that man eat-PAST-SUBJ the-ACC
husl
 host

Givón, *Syntax: An Introduction*, 2 vols (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2001), ii, pp. 59–63.

¹¹ Cf. Bruce Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), §3763; Taro Kageyama, ‘AGR in Old English *to*-infinitives’, *Lingua*, 88 (1992), pp. 91–128 (p. 113); David Denison, *English Historical Syntax* (London: Longman, 1993), p. 189; Los, *The Rise of ‘To’-Infinitive*, pp. 15–16.

¹² Cf. Los, *The Rise of ‘To’-Infinitive*, pp. 103–4.

¹³ Timofeeva, *Non-finite Constructions in Old English*, pp. 101–6.

¹⁴ Cf. Fischer, ‘The Origin and Spread of the Accusative and Infinitive’, pp. 187–90; Los, *The Rise of ‘To’-Infinitive*, p. 107.

¹⁵ e.g., *Manige men leton þæt hit cometa wære* ‘many people allowed/thought that it was a comet’ (ChronE 1097.21); see Timofeeva, *Non-finite Constructions in Old English*, pp. 106–7.

¹⁶ The absolute number of examples of *laetan* with infinitival complement is 131 and of *hatan* 1167 (Timofeeva,

for Christ commanded that man ate the host (ÆLet 1 [Wulfsgie Xa] 84.101; late Old English)

With implicit causees, direct sequences of *hatan* and infinitive, as *het wyrcan* in (2a), are less frequent than *letan*-Inf (only about 26 per cent of the *hatan*-Inf constructions). Moreover, many of them tend to occur in collocations of *hatan* with a verb of utterance, such as *hatan-seccgan* ‘to command to say, make known’.¹⁷

Causative *hatan* with explicit accusative causees is less frequent and allows a lot of variation in the order of the constituents belonging to this construction. Most typically, however, it follows the pattern *hatan*-NP_{Acc}-Inf, in which an object of the infinitive (2b) or an adverb may intervene between the accusative causee and the infinitive.¹⁸ Just as *letan*, *hatan* never takes *to*-VP complements in Old English. Most importantly perhaps, *hatan* allows variation between infinitival and finite complements (2c). Finite complements typically occur in contexts that imply that there is no co-temporality between the causing and caused events, no direct contact between the causer and causee, that the causer exercises only weak control over the causee, which may retain its own intentionality.¹⁹ This suggests that finite complements after *hatan* code weaker causation, compared to infinitival complements.

To conclude, Old English typically employs two verbs to code strong causation: *letan* and *hatan*. Both of them seem to develop more grammatical meanings towards the later Old English period: *letan* follows the semantic path of ‘allow > let > make’, and *hatan* that of ‘tell > order > make’. Further, they contrast with other causative verbs (both strong, such as *nīedan* ‘to force, urge’, and weak, such as *tæcan* ‘to show, instruct, direct’) in that (i) they are much more frequent, and (ii) show a clear preference for infinitival complements. Yet, we know that the Middle English period saw the rise of another causative construction, that of *don* with infinitival complements.²⁰ We are now going to see whether this development can already be seen in the Old English data. I will first present my material from the independent Old English texts (Sample 1) and the data from the *Dictionary of Old English (DOE)*, and then compare it against the Old English renderings of the Latin *facere*-ACI construction in translations (Sample 2).

2. (*ge*)*don* in original Old English texts²¹

In my selection from the *YCOE* (Sample 1), (*ge*)*don* with infinitival complements is to be found only in late Old English texts.²² For example, in Ælfric’s *Catholic Homilies I*, there are two occurrences within the same passage (3a). Although this collection of homilies is an original

Non-finite Constructions in Old English, pp. 95, 108). Cf. Royster, ‘Old English Causative Verbs’, p. 351; Ellegård, *The Auxiliary ‘Do’*, pp. 48, 55.

¹⁷ Timofeeva, *Non-finite Constructions in Old English*, pp. 109–13.

¹⁸ Timofeeva, *Non-finite Constructions in Old English*, pp. 116–17.

¹⁹ Timofeeva, *Non-finite Constructions in Old English*, pp. 117–18; cf. Givón, *Syntax*, pp. 43–49; Willem B. Hollmann, ‘Synchrony and Diachrony of English Periphrastic Causatives: A Cognitive Perspective’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Manchester, 2003), pp. 146–49, <http://www.lancaster.ac.uk/staff/hollmann/WBH_PhD_causatives.pdf> [accessed on 18 February 2011].

²⁰ e.g., Royster, ‘Old English Causative Verbs’, pp. 342–45; Ellegård, *The Auxiliary ‘Do’*, pp. 43–7, 118; Los, *The Rise of ‘To’-Infinitive*, p. 135.

²¹ This section is an extended version of the sub-section (GE)DON in my dissertation (Timofeeva, *Non-finite Constructions in Old English*, pp. 126–28).

²² Cf. Callaway, *The Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon*, p. 205.

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work, many of its episodes (as is often the case with medieval vernacular compilations) go back to Latin sources (3b).

- (.3) (a) *swa swa þu dydest minne broðer his god forlætan [...]*
so as thou do-PAST my-ACC brother his god forsake-INF [...]
swa do ic eac þe forlætan þinne god
so do-PRES I also thou-ACC forsake-INF thy god
as you made my brother forsake his god ... so (will) I also make you forsake your
god (ÆCHom I, 31: 446.214; late Old English)
- (b) *sicut tu fecisti fratrem meum ut*
as thou make-PERF brother-ACC my-ACC that
relinqueret deum sum [...] ita te ego
forsake-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG god his [...] so thou-ACC I
faciam derelinquere deum tuum
make-FUT-INDIC forsake-INF god thy
as you made my brother forsake his god ... so will I make you forsake your god

Although it cannot be assumed that the two *(ge)don*-ACIs above are used independently of Latin, it is remarkable that the subjunctive complement of the Latin source *ut relinqueret* is changed into a second (linearly the first) ACI. This transformation has to do with the fact that Old English *(ge)don* does not allow an accusative NP in the main clause if it is followed by a finite complement — it always appears in the construction *do that ...*, never in *do NP that ...*,²³ which perhaps makes a word-for-word rendering of *tu fecisti fratrem meum ut relinqueret* impossible. I suggest that in the analysis of the structural correspondences between source and target texts, such texts as Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* should be classified as intermediate between original Old English compositions and translations.

Five more infinitival complements with *(ge)don* are found in the later extension of the *Peterborough Chronicle* (c. 1155). Three of these (ChronE 1123.55, ChronE 1127.25, ChronE 1128.10) are *to*-infinitives, occurring in a collocation *don to understanden(ne)*, e.g.

- (.4) *He dide ðone king to understanden þet he wolde mid alle*
he do-PAST the-ACC king to understand-INF that he would withal
forlæten þone minstre
forsake the minster
he made/gave the king to understand that he would give up the monastery completely
(ChronE 1128.10; late Old English)

Los suggests that *don to understandenne* is a set phrase and analyses *don* in such contexts as a three-place verb with the sense 'to give, grant', deriving 'from a reanalysis of the [_ NP NP] frame' of the kind *to do someone a favour*.²⁴ My own proximity searches in the *DOEC* produced 6 tokens of *don to understandenne*: LS 22 (InFestisSMarie) 11, Eluc 1 (Warn 45) 99, Ch 1101 (Harm 49) 2, ChronE 1123.55, ChronE 1127.25, ChronE 1128.10. There is also

²³ Fischer, 'The Origin and Spread of the Accusative and Infinitive', p. 188; Los, *The Rise of 'To'-Infinitive*, pp. 134, 136.

²⁴ Los, *The Rise of 'To'-Infinitive*, p. 135.

one example with a bare infinitive *deþ understandan* glossing Latin *facit intellegere* in LibSc 78.26. Together with Los's findings,²⁵ these statistics seem to suggest that the use of the *to*-VP complement was very limited (more on this below). My fifth example, however, contains a bare infinitive:

- (.5) *þat te king sende efter him ⁊ dide him gyuen up ðat*
 that the king sent after him and do-PAST he-DAT give-INF up the
abbotrice of Burch ⁊ faren ut of lande
 abbacy of Peterborough and go-INF out of land
 that the king sent after him and made him give up the abbacy of Peterborough and
 leave the country (ChronE 1132.9; late Old English)

Once again, this example is very late and may reflect a new development within the causation paradigm. On the surface, it may seem that the structure contains a dative causee. However, this late in the Old English period the distinction between the accusative form *hine* and the dative *him* (which eventually contaminated both grammatical meanings) was not properly maintained (similarly in (ChronE 1140.21)). Moreover, my evidence on unequivocally native use of bare infinitives with (*ge*)*don* is limited to (ChronE 1132.9) and (ChronE 1140.21).

Overall, finite complements after (*ge*)*don* prevail²⁶ — 33 instances in Sample 1 (as opposed to seven infinitival complements discussed earlier in this section). Two examples of *that*-complements will suffice:

- (.6) *⁊ dyde þa mid drycraefte þæt ðær comon micele*
 and do-PAST then with magic that there come-PAST-INDIC big
hundas ⁊ ræsdon wið Petres weard
 dogs and rush-PAST-INDIC towards Peter
 and he made then by magic that big dogs came there and rushed towards Peter
 (ÆCHom I, 26: 395.189; late Old English)

- (.7) *He deð þæt fyr cymð ufene, swylce hit of*
 he do-PRES that fire come-PRES-INDIC from above as if it of
heofonum cume
 heaven come-PRES-SUBJ
 he will make the fire come from above, as if it come from heaven (WHom 4: 62.143;
 late Old English)

As has already been observed, these constructions do not contain causees in the main clause. It is worth mentioning that (*ge*)*don* with finite complements is equally frequent in early and later Old English (0.99 per 10,000 words and 0.96 per 10,000 words, respectively, with data from the complete *YCOE* being taken into account). However, in both periods its use — just as with the use of *ACI* complements — is mostly limited to translated texts and compilations.

To sum up this subsection, (*ge*)*don* with NP-*to*-VP complements seems to occur mainly in set phrases, while the evidence on (*ge*)*don*-*ACI*s does not suggest that the construction was in wide circulation before the transition from the Old to Middle English period. I will now compare my corpus findings to the data in the *don* and *gedon* entries in the *Dictionary of Old English*.

²⁵ Los, *The Rise of 'To'-Infinitive*, pp. 135–6.

²⁶ Cf. Royster, 'Old English Causative Verbs', pp. 337–43.

3. (ge)don in the Dictionary of Old English

The *DOE* lists examples of causative (ge)don under *don* III.A (10 instances) and *gedon* 2.a. (9 instances). Of these, five examples are from glosses imitating Latin *facere* (4 occurrences) and *fingere* 'to make, pretend' (1 occurrence) with infinitival complements: PPs 67.6; PPs 103.30; LkGl (Li) 24.28; PsCaA 1 7.58; MkGl (Li) 6.39. Six more examples are either found in overt translations from Latin or in compilations based upon several Latin sources: *ÆCHom* I, 31 446.214 (discussed above in ex. 3a); *Bede* 4 24.334.16; *LS* 7 (Euphr) 315; *ChrodR* 1 80.68; *HomU* 7 163; *LS* 1.1 (AndrewBright) 165.²⁷ Both groups therefore have to be viewed as Latin-based.

Further, five examples appear to be set phrases similar to those described in the previous sub-section. These contain (ge)don with *to*-VP (4 occurrences) or bare infinitive (1 occurrence): CP 46.357.4; *ÆCHom* II, 18 170.35; Or 3 9.69.28; and two versions of *Prov* 1 1.9. The NPs in these examples are either nominal dative or pronominal indistinguishable between dative and accusative. The complement VPs in all five occurrences share the same verb *witan* 'to know', which seems to suggest a pattern — (ge)don with a verb of cognition, (attested outside Sample 1 and the *DOE* with *understandan*, *witan*, and *ongietan* 'to perceive, know', in CP 35.237.21 and *Solil* 1 40.9).²⁸

Three examples of (ge)don-ACI remain. Of these, the only one unequivocally independent of Latin is *ChronE* 1132.9, which I have already discussed in (5). The other two examples — *ÆLS* (Basil) 123 and *ÆLS* (Swithun) 375 — are from *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, again a collection of texts that does not have one concrete original behind it, but rather draws on several medieval Latin writers, similar Latin compilations of lives and homilies, and quotations from the Bible. The latter, for instance, is a quotation from *Romans* 12.20:

- (8) (a) *gif him þyrste ðu do him*
if he-DAT thirst-PRES-SUBJ thou do-IMPER he-DAT
drincan
drink-INF/-ACC-SG
if he is thirsty, you give him drink/water (*ÆLS* (Swithun) 375; late Old English)
- (b) *si sitit, potum da illi*
if thirst-PRES-INDIC drink-ACC-SG give-IMPER he-DAT
if he is thirsty, give him drink (*Rm* 12.20)

The form *drincan* in (8a) can be interpreted both as an infinitive *drincan* 'to drink' and as a noun *drinca* 'drink' in the accusative singular. The second option seems to me more likely, since the Latin original also has a noun in the accusative singular *potum*. Moreover, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* quotes this example in its entry on the noun *drinca*.²⁹ The rendering of the

²⁷ Susan Rosser suggests that the source of this Old English homily 'is most likely to have been a Latin translation of the Greek Acta [sanctorum] similar to that printed by Blatt (1930), although the Old English translator's source was clearly much closer to the Greek Acta than this Latin version is' (Susan Rosser, 'The Sources of Blickling Homily 19 (Cameron C.B.3.3.1)', in *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici*: *World Wide Web Register*, <<http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk/>> [accessed on 18 February 2011]). Accordingly, I was able to trace the *gedon*-ACI construction in this text back to its Greek prototype in *Acta Andreae et Matthiae*, ch. 21: Franz Blatt, *Die lateinischen Bearbeitungen der Acta Andreae et Matthiae apud anthropophagos* (Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1930), p. 72, l. 13.

²⁸ Cf. Ellegård, *The Auxiliary 'Do'*, pp. 39–40.

²⁹ Joseph Bosworth and T. Northcote Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1898),

imperative *da* with *do* in Old English may be a case of transfer from the source text, triggered by the phonological similarity of the two forms; more commonly, however, Latin *dare* is translated into Old English with *sellan* ‘to give, supply’ or *giefan* ‘to give, grant’.³⁰

Overall, the *DOE* data seems to support my earlier findings in the *YCOE*: causative (*ge*)*don*-ACI constructions in original Old English texts are extremely rare,³¹ and it is, moreover, very difficult to rule out Latin influence in Old English collections of lives and homilies. The evidence on *to*-VP constructions with (*ge*)*don* is much more consistent, suggesting that the pattern typically occurred in set phrases, in which the *to*-VP constituent was a verb of cognition. We are now going to see how *facere*-ACIs were dealt with in overt translations from Latin.

4. (*ge*)*don* in translations from Latin

As has been observed in sub-section 1, the basic causative verbs in Old English are *hatan* and *laetan*, which typically take infinitival complements. If Latin originals contain such verbs as *iubeo* ‘to order, command’, *praecipio* ‘to tell, command’, or *permitto* ‘to allow, permit’, and an ACI complement, their translation into Old English is quite straightforward — *hatan* renders *iubeo* and *praecipio*, *laetan* renders *permitto*, and ACIs are rendered by ACIs. Overall in Sample 2, this translation strategy accounts for c. 38 per cent of all renditions of Latin ACIs with verbs of causation.

The statistics change, however, when Latin authors use ACIs after causative *facere*. These constructions are rendered by (*ge*)*don*-ACIs only in glosses, see example (9) below:

- (.9) (a) *doeð* *hie* *cwaecian*
do-PRES-3SG she-ACC tremble-INF
(he) makes her (the earth) tremble (VespPs 103.32; early Old English)
- (b) *facit* *eam* *tremere*
do-PRES-3SG she-ACC tremble-INF
(he) makes her (the earth) tremble (VespPs 103.32; early Old English)

In translations, two major strategies can be observed (see Table 2): the translators either retain the infinitival complement and change the main verb (c. 30.5 per cent) or they retain the main verb, rendering *facere* with (*ge*)*don* and the ACI with a finite complement clause (also c. 30.5 per cent). Let us consider the former option first, using Wærferth’s translation of Gregory’s

s.v.; cf. Los, *The Rise of ‘To’-Infinitive*, p. 32.

³⁰ Cf. a quotation from the glosses to the *Lindisfarne Gospels*: ‘Soðlice se ðe sylð drinc eow calic fulne wæteres’ (‘truly, whoever gives you a drink [from] a cup full of water’; MkG1 (Li) 9.41) and its Latin source: *Quisquis enim potum dederit vobis calicem aquae* (Mk 9.41). The context is conspicuously similar, but *dederit* (future II of *dare*) is translated with *sylð* (present of *sellan*).

³¹ A comprehensive survey of other attestations is available in Callaway, *The Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon*, pp. 33, 110–11, 118, 120, 130, 304; Royster, ‘Old English Causative Verbs’, pp. 337–8; and Ellegård, *The Auxiliary ‘Do’*, pp. 48–54.

Infinitival Complements with the Verb '(ge)don' in Old English

Dialogues (ex. 10)³² and then the latter, using the Old English homily on St Chad, based on Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* (ex. 11).³³

- (.10) (a) *Quem [...] calcare ipsos paucissimos racimos*
 who-ACC press-INF those very few bunches
fecit
 do-PERF-INDIC-3SG
 he made him press those very few bunches [of grapes] (GD i.9.78.30)
- (b) *het hine wringan þa feawa geclystru þære*
 order-PAST-3SG he-ACC press-INF those few bunches of the
byrgena
 grapes
 he made him press those few bunches of grapes (C 58.16; early Old English)

The Latin *fecit* is rendered by *het*, the most common causative verb in Old English and one that prefers infinitival complementation, which allows the preservation of the ACI.

- (.11) (a) *et hos septem fratres huc uenire facito*
 and those-ACC seven brothers-ACC hither come-INF do-IMPER-2SG
 and make those seven brothers/monks come here (HE iv.3.340.16)
- (b) *7 gedo þu þet heo hider cuman þas ure*
 and do-IMPER thou that they hither come-PRES-SUBJ those our
seofen broðru
 seven brothers
 and make our seven brothers come hither (Chad 172.112; early Old English)

Above, the main verb *facito* is translated literally as *gedo þu* and the ACI has to be replaced with a finite complement clause. The transformation looks logical here since *facere*-ACI has future reference and the main verb cannot be construed as implicative (as has been observed in 2.1, the distinction between implicative and non-implicative causation is typically coded in Old English with infinitival and *that*-clauses, respectively).

Several other means to render *facere*-ACI are found in the late-OE translation of Genesis (early 11th century).³⁴

- (.12) (a) *Fecitque eum ascendere super currum suum secundum*
 do-PERF-and he-ACC ascend-INF into chariot his second
 and he made him [Joseph] ascend his second chariot (Gn 41.43)
- (b) *7 sette hyne on hys oþer cræt*
 and set-PAST he-ACC on his other cart

³² *Dialogues Grégoire le Grand*, ed. by Adalbert de Vogüé, Sources Chrétiennes (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1978); *Bischofs Wærferth von Worcester Übersetzung der Dialoge Gregors des Grossen*, ed. by Hans Hecht, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa, 5 (Leipzig: Wigand, 1900), MS C.

³³ *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. by Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969); *The Life of St. Chad: An Old English Homily*, ed. by R. Vleeskruyer (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1953).

³⁴ Genesis, in *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*, ed. by Bonifatius Fischer, Iohanne Gribomont, H. F. D.

and he set him in his second chariot (Gn 41.43; late Old English)

The Latin *fecit eum ascendere* is translated by the morphological causative *sette hyne*, while below the infinitive is simply omitted.

- (.13) (a) *Absque liberis me esse fecistis*
 without children I-ACC be-INF do-PERF-2PL
 you have made me be without children (Gn 42.36)
- (b) *Bearnleasne ge habbað me gedonne*
 childless-ACC ye have-PRES-2PL I-ACC do-PART
 you have made me childless (Gn 42.36; late Old English)

Thus, the Old English translation contains a small clause, with the adjective *Bearnleasne* replacing the PP *Absque liberis*.

Ellegård reports four occurrences in the *Old English Heptateuch* in which *facere*-ACIs are rendered into Old English as *laetan*-ACIs.³⁵ All of them contain intransitive verbs in the ACI: *requiescere* – *restan* ‘to rest’, *decurrere* – *yrnan* ‘to run’, *stare* – *standan* ‘to stand’, and *viuere* – *libban* ‘to live’.

Summing up, the amount of replacement and restructuring in target texts seems to suggest a kind of incompatibility between the Latin *facere*-ACI and the Old English complementation patterns with *(ge)don*.³⁶ Although *(ge)don* is the closest equivalent of *facere* in its basic meaning, as a two-place verb it prefers *that*-clause complements (although these too are mostly restricted to Latinate contexts), while as a three-place verb it prefers *to*-VP complements, whose meaning is best described as ‘to grant to do something’, with a clear tendency to be used with verbs of cognition. I agree with Los that competition exists between ACI and *that*-clause, rather than between ACI and *to*-VP.³⁷

	ABS NOS	REL NOS
<i>facere</i> rendered with <i>hatan</i> , Inf retained	7	30.44%
<i>don</i> + <i>þæt</i> -clause	7	30.44%
morphological causative	5	21.74%
<i>facere</i> rendered with <i>bebeodan</i> , Inf with <i>þæt</i> -clause	2	8.7%
Inf omitted	1	4.35%
main verb omitted	1	4.35%
TOTAL	23	100%

Table 2. Old English renderings of Latin *facere*-ACIs (excluding glosses)

Discussion

Although we have seen that causative *(ge)don* with ACI complements are generally Latin-based in both sub-periods of Old English, in this socio-historical setting, the term *syntactic*

Sparks and W. Thiele (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1969); *The Old English Heptateuch*, ed. by Samuel Crawford, Early English Text Society, o. s., 160 (London: Oxford University Press, 1922).

³⁵ Ellegård, *The Auxiliary ‘Do’*, p. 52.

³⁶ Cf. Ellegård, *The Auxiliary ‘Do’*, p. 52.

³⁷ See Los, *The Rise of ‘To’-Infinitive*, p. 136.

borrowing should be used with caution. The reason for caution lies first of all in the specificity of the Anglo-Latin language contact in the historical Old English period, with its paucity of oral communication between speakers of Latin and speakers of English.³⁸ The situation can be described as one in which a socially defined group of people acquires literary competence in L2 (Latin) via studying, reading, copying, and glossing it. The use of L2 is promoted through schooling and is restricted almost entirely to the domain of religion, while the speech community as a whole remains essentially monolingual.³⁹

The association of bilinguality, i.e. literacy in Latin (taken broadly — from passive familiarity to high proficiency), with affiliation with the holy orders is widely accepted among Anglo-Saxons.⁴⁰ The size of this bilingual group can be estimated to be between 0.27 and 0.55 per cent of the population.⁴¹ The bilinguals are very few, and, more importantly, they are also the group responsible for most of the literary production in Old English. The contemporary records of the period in both Latin and Old English are, thus, representative only of one per cent of the population at most. With such figures, language contact may only result in a limited number of lexical borrowings, while the prospect of structural borrowing would not look very promising.⁴² Latin influence in the domain of causative constructions, addressed here, should therefore operate within the outlined social group, affecting the overall language situation but to a negligible degree. With this in mind, to refer to these constructions as borrowings would not be quite accurate. But what are they then?

In their recent studies of contact-induced grammaticalisation, Bernd Heine and Tania Kuteva describe syntactic borrowing as a process of grammatical replication which supposedly takes several stages.⁴³ At first speakers of the replica language (R) notice that the model language (M) has a grammatical category (Mx).⁴⁴ They then create an equivalent category (Rx), using linguistic material available in their own language (R), and eventually the new category is grammaticalised.⁴⁵ Time-wise these stages relate 'to a gradual process [...] and may involve several generations of speakers'; the grammaticalisation stage in particular 'may extend over centuries'.⁴⁶

³⁸ Olga Timofeeva, 'Anglo-Latin Bilingualism before 1066: Prospects and Limitations', in *Interfaces between Language and Culture in Medieval England: A Festschrift for Matti Kilpiö*, ed. by Alaric Hall, Olga Timofeeva, Ágnes Kiricsi and Bethany Fox, *The Northern World*, 48 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 1–36.

³⁹ Cf. Leo J. Loveday, *Language Contact in Japan: A Sociolinguistic History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 19–20.

⁴⁰ See, e.g., Hugh Magennis, 'Audience(s), Reception, Literacy', in *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature*, ed. by Phillip Pulsiano and Elaine Treharne (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), pp. 84–101 (pp. 86–89).

⁴¹ For the details of the calculation and references, see Timofeeva, 'Anglo-Latin Bilingualism before 1066', pp. 12–16.

⁴² See the 'borrowing scale' proposed in Sarah G. Thomason and Terrence Kaufman, *Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988); and Sarah G. Thomason, *Language Contact* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001); cf. Donald Winford, *An Introduction to Contact Linguistics* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003).

⁴³ e.g. Bernd Heine and Tania Kuteva, 'On Contact-induced Grammaticalization', *Studies in Language*, 27 (2003), 529–72; *Language Contact and Grammatical Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

⁴⁴ The terms *model language* and *replica language* were initially introduced by Uriel Weinreich in 1953. Model languages provide the model for transfer, and replica languages make use of the model. See Uriel Weinreich, *Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems*, Publications of the Linguistic Circle of New York, 1 (The Hague: Mouton, 1968), pp. 7–8, 30–31 (first publ. New York: Linguistic Circle of New York, 1953).

⁴⁵ Heine and Kuteva, 'On Contact-induced Grammaticalization', pp. 533, 539; *Language Contact and Grammatical Change*, pp. 80–81, 92.

⁴⁶ Heine and Kuteva, 'On Contact-induced Grammaticalization', p. 533.

The early stages of contact-induced grammaticalisation are related to discourse characteristics of a replicated grammatical structure. It is essential to distinguish between pragmatic and categorial aspects of grammatical replication, as grammaticalisation, including contact-induced grammaticalisation, starts out ‘with pragmatically motivated patterns of discourse that may crystallise in new, conventionalised forms of grammatical structure’.⁴⁷ Thus the earlier stages of contact-induced grammaticalisation can be described as discourse-pragmatic, referring to such parameters as context and frequency. As long as the replica unit remains pragmatically marked, it is termed ‘use pattern’ rather than category. In contact situations, new (replicated) use patterns or, more commonly, infrequent (native) ‘minor use patterns’ may become more frequent and less marked, that is, develop into ‘major use patterns’,⁴⁸ which is represented graphically in Table 3.

stage	0	Ia	Ib	II	III
	minor use pattern		> major use pattern		
	incipient category			> full-fledged category	

Table 3. Discourse-based vs. categorial structures in grammatical replication (Heine and Kuteva, *Language Contact and Grammatical Change*, p. 75)

The distinction between the discourse-based and categorial structures seems to be particularly useful for the study of Old English data, as in situations of written language contact, we may be dealing with translation-induced grammaticalisation that is initiated by the mechanism of grammatical replication, leading to the establishment of translation conventions/patterns that may or may not give rise to full-fledged categories.

The distinction between category and use pattern is emphasised in Werner Koller’s 1998 study of the role of translation in the history of German. He suggests that the influence of translation patterns on target language can be seen on the level of *system innovations* (*Systeminnovationen*, i.e. innovations in the language system) and *norm and style innovations* (*Norm- und stilistische Innovationen*, i.e. innovations in particular text types).⁴⁹ Similarly, Nicole Baumgarten and Demet Özçetin claim that the ‘frequent translation of source text structures by grammatical, but less used linguistic structures of the target language can, over time [...] marginalise other linguistic means used for the particular communicative function in the target language’.⁵⁰ Thus, a translation pattern may spread to original texts in the target language and produce a minor use pattern, typically within the text type that corresponds closest to the source text type. This minor use pattern (norm and style innovation) may eventually develop into a category (system innovation).

⁴⁷ Heine and Kuteva, *Language Contact and Grammatical Change*, pp. 40–122, esp. p. 70.

⁴⁸ Heine and Kuteva, *Language Contact and Grammatical Change*, pp. 44–62; cf. Lars Johanson, *Structural Factors in Turkic Language Contacts*, trans. by Vanessa Karam (Richmond: Curzon Press, 2002), pp. 10–11; ‘Remodeling Grammar: Copying, Conventionalization, Grammaticalization’, in *Language Contact and Contact Languages*, ed. by Peter Siemund and Noemi Kintana, Hamburg Studies on Multilingualism, 7 (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2008), pp. 61–79 (pp. 69–70).

⁴⁹ Werner Koller, ‘Übersetzungen ins Deutsche und ihre Bedeutung für die deutsche Sprachgeschichte’, in *Sprachgeschichte: Ein Handbuch zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und ihrer Forschung*, ed. by Werner Besch, Anne Betten, Oskar Reichmann and Stefan Sonderegger (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1998), pp. 210–29 (p. 212).

⁵⁰ Nicole Baumgarten and Demet Özçetin, ‘Linguistic Variation through Language Contact in Translation’, in *Language Contact and Contact Languages*, ed. by Peter Siemund and Noemi Kintana, Hamburg Studies on Multilingualism, 7 (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2008), pp. 293–316 (pp. 294–95).

It has to be pointed out that to become a category both contact-induced and translation-induced grammatical innovations have to be supported by intense and prolonged contact and continuous translation tradition. These two approaches can, therefore, describe Old English data on *(ge)don*-ACI only in a limited way. I suggest that they can be legitimately applied to account for glosses, translations and written Old English more generally in terms of translation patterns developing into minor use patterns. But there is little evidence to substantiate further evolution to the categorial (system) level.

Furthermore, formal grammatical replication is not the only outcome of contact-induced language influence. Heine and Kuteva point out:⁵¹

[I]f we find that speakers regularly translate category Mx of language M by using category Rx in language R, then we will say that this is an instance of translational equivalence between Mx and Rx — irrespective of the grammatical structure of the categories concerned.

Indeed, it should be emphasised that translational equivalence does not (necessarily) imply structural equivalence between Mx and Rx. The latter is better described in terms of structural isomorphism, while the former reflects a search for a closest equivalent of Mx,⁵² which relies on previous translation experience and continues an established translational convention.⁵³

If we apply these assumptions to the written Old English data, we shall see that in fact there are several translation equivalents for the Latin *facere*-ACI:

- 1) *(ge)don*-ACI (infrequent, mostly limited to IOE),
- 2) *(ge)don-þæt*-clause (rather frequent, used in both sub-periods),
- 3) *hatan/letan*-ACI (rather frequent, used in both sub-periods),
- 4) morphological causatives (limited to one text in my corpus, but attested elsewhere by other scholars,⁵⁴ perhaps unproductive because many of the old morphological causatives had become polysemous in Old English, while new causatives stopped to be formed along the old derivational patterns⁵⁵).

As (3) and (4) are well represented in the original Old English writings, I restrict the following discussion to (1) and (2).

Ellegård observes that '*facere ut* is normally rendered *do that* in [Old] English, whereas *facere ac[usative with infinitive]* is generally changed, mostly into *do that*'.⁵⁶ Thus, *(ge)don-þæt*-clause has two models in Latin, while *(ge)don*-ACI only one, although ex. (3a) may suggest that an equivalence relation exists also between *facere-ut*-clause and *(ge)don*-ACI, which can perhaps be seen graphically as represented in Figure 1.

Equivalence rests on previous translation experience, which in the Old English setting can be envisaged as both individual translation experience and the experience of reading and copying existing glosses and translations. It seems therefore, that indeed repeated translation (experience) of the same Mx creates a convention, or *translation use pattern*.

Once we have a pattern, we may expect it to spread from translated to original texts within the same text type. This should be a particularly well motivated expectation in Old English, since most of the prose text types were actually created through the imitation of

⁵¹ Heine and Kuteva, *Language Contact and Grammatical Change*, pp. 222–25.

⁵² Johanson, 'Remodeling Grammar', p. 77.

⁵³ Cf. Heine and Kuteva, *Language Contact and Grammatical Change*, pp. 223, 225.

⁵⁴ See Ellegård, *The Auxiliary 'Do'*, pp. 49–51.

⁵⁵ Royster, 'Old English Causative Verbs', pp. 328–32.

⁵⁶ Ellegård, *The Auxiliary 'Do'*, p. 52.

corresponding Latin text types. My analysis of Old English data shows a clear development in this direction: outside glosses, eOE prefers the *(ge)don-þæt*-clause (whose use is mostly restricted to translations), while IOE employs both the *(ge)don-þæt*-clause and *(ge)don*-ACI, and both structures are seen to creep into texts that occupy an intermediate position between translations and independent Old English texts (see sub-section 2; absolute figures are given in Table 4).

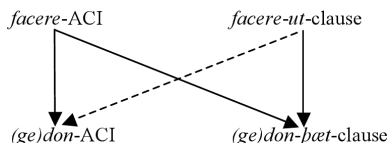


Figure 1. Translation equivalence between the complements of *facere* and *(ge)don*

		eOE	IOE
<i>(ge)don</i> -ACI	translations	0	2
	intermediate	0	7
	independent	0	2
<i>(ge)don-þæt</i> -clause	translations	46	30
	intermediate	0	54
	independent	3	7

Table 4. Distribution of ACI and finite complements with *(ge)don* (based on counts from the complete *YCOE*)

As discourse innovations or minor use patterns these two constructions may or may not find their way into the language system. The two occurrences of *(ge)don*-ACI in the *Peterborough Chronicle* seem to support the former scenario (see ex. 5). Language-internal development, however, cannot be ruled out for two major reasons: common Old English is completely undocumented, while cognates of causative *(ge)don* are attested at various stages in the development of Frisian, Dutch and German.⁵⁷ I will, however, have to stop at the IOE stage as the arrival of the Romance-speaking elite in 1066 and the partial discontinuity of the old written tradition make it impossible to trace the initial scenario further, but definitely call for more research into the development of causative constructions in ME.

Conclusions

Corpus analysis has shown that both hypotheses of the origin of infinitival complements with *(ge)don* highlight important linguistic points but omit many no less important details. Accordingly I divide my conclusions into two parts.

As far as the ‘native’ hypothesis is concerned, the distinction between *(ge)don* with NP-*to*-VP complements and *(ge)don*-ACIs is crucial not only in terms of argument structure and

⁵⁷ Nils Langer, *Linguistic Purism in Action: How Auxiliary ‘tun’ was Stigmatized in Early New High German*, *Studia*

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the semantics of *(ge)don* but also in the examination of the diachronic development of the two structures. NP-*to*-VP complements occur mainly in set phrases with verbs of cognition, and their use shows no dependence on Latin sources from eOE onwards. The evidence on *(ge)don*-ACIs, on the other hand, does not suggest that the construction was in wide circulation before the transition from Old to Middle English period. Not only are they rare in original Old English texts, but the scribes seem generally reluctant to render *facere*-ACIs with their structural equivalents. Moreover, many of the texts that are classified as original Old English, and therefore can supposedly be used to support the claim about the native development of *(ge)don*-ACIs, on closer examination reveal affinities with one or more Latin sources.

The 'Latin' hypothesis holds only for *(ge)don*-ACIs, particularly before the OE4 period, into which the two examples from the *Peterborough Chronicle* belong (see sub-section 2). The claims about syntactic borrowing, however, should not be made too hastily in view of the small size of the corpus of surviving Old English texts, their general dependence on Latin sources, and the social background of their authors. I suggest that translation-induced-interference analysis should be applied instead. In the course of studying, reading and translating from Latin, speakers of Old English become aware of the category *facere*-ACI in Latin. They create two translational equivalents for this category: *(ge)don*-ACI and *(ge)don-þæt*-clause. These equivalents in due course become translation patterns and thus have a potential to spread outside translations. The statistics presented in Table 4 show that frequency-wise this potential was higher for *(ge)don-þæt*-clause.

Furthermore, typological analysis of the Old English causatives (outlined briefly in 1) shows that native constructions were available and that the basic positive causative verb was *hatan*. It seems reasonable to hypothesise that as long as the central position of *hatan* remained unshaken, there was little room for new developments within the causative paradigm. Therefore the decline of *hatan* in ME and the rise of *do* and *make* should perhaps be investigated as complementary processes.⁵⁸

Linguistica Germanica, 60 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2001), pp. 12–98.

⁵⁸ The diachronic development of ME causatives is investigated by Brian Lowrey in 'Les verbes causatifs en anglais: une étude diachronique du moyen-anglais à l'anglais moderne', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (University of Lille, 2002).

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